



Tenoch Chaparr, in which is related how the Spaniards slowly left the coast land and marched ahead; and how Moctezuma left the great palace and went there to his princely home.

Then Moctezuma abandoned his old house, the great palace, and stayed at and lived in, and moved to and visited his princely home.

And when, at last, [the Spaniards] came—when already they had come and were making their way forward—first they had come upon and seized a man from Cempoalla, named Tlacochcalcatl, at the time that they had been going to find the lands and the cities. He also was an interpreter, and set them on their road, put them on their course, showed them the way, led them along, and acted as their guide.

And when they came to reach [the region of] Tecoaac,¹ on land of the people of Tlaxcala, there dwelt their [subject] Otomí. And the Otomí met them in battle; with shields they moved against them. And the Otomí, the men of Tecoaac, [the Spaniards] completely overwhelmed. Verily, they destroyed them. They speared them; they were pierced with spears. They turned their guns on them; they shot them with iron bolts; they shot them with crossbows. Not just few but great numbers of them they destroyed.²

And when [the region of] Tecoaac had perished, those of Tlaxcala—when they heard and knew of it, when they had been told—could not control their alarm; they swooned with fear. Great was the dread which overcame them. Terror seized them.

Then they gathered themselves together and took counsel. There was a lords' council; there was a rulers' council. They considered the news.

They said: "How shall we act? Shall we, perchance, move against them? For, verily, a great warrior and brave leader is the Otomí. [The Spaniards] thought them as nothing; considered them as nil. In no time—in but the flutter of an eyelid—

Infe matlactli Capitulo: vncan mjeton in quenjn Españoles can jvian, callalhouccaquizeque, callotlatocatlque yotl in quenjn Motecucosma quizecuh in vei tecpan, vmpa la in jpalchan.

Niman qujoallaicavi in jvevchan in vei tecpan. vncan callamatzia, vncan callama, qujoalma, qujoaltocac in jpalchan in ichost Motecucoma.

Auh in iequeze vitzte, in ie vitzte, in ie ovalmotl-nique: ce tlacatl, cemopaltecatl, itoca tlacochcalcatl, no achto canaco; in iquec qujtsa tlalli, in alstpetl, no oalnacotlatotia, q'noalquechilitia, qujnoalotlatotia, qujnoalalxlatotia, qujnoalacian, qujnoalacian-tia.

Auh in oacico Tecoaac: in tlalpan tlaxcalteca vncan enoque imotonao. Auh in otomj isutica qujnnamjique, chimaltica qujnnamjique: auh in otomj in Tecoaac vel qujmixtlatique, vei ixpolihque, qujxixilique, texixiloac, qujntequijzique, qujntepuzmjique, qujntavitolhuque, amo can quexquichtin, vei ixachintin, in ixpolihque.

Auh in ontalpolih teoaac, in tlaxcalteca in ooncacque in ocomatque, in onjilhuiloto, cenca maubcaconcoque, mocuetlaxoque, cenca in tlania in maviztli, mavizcuque:

njma mocentalique mononotique, motecucionotique, motlacanotique, qujnnootique in tlaltolli:

qujtoque. Quen toiesque, cujx tiqujnnamjique: ca vei oquichtli vei tlacauh in otomjtl, atle ipan oqujzic, atle ipan oconjzic, can izqujch cavitenti in can ixpeicctli in oonpopolo maceoalli. Auh in axcan ma can itlan tencalajque, ma can tictoc-

1. Tecoaac: today Melián, in the northern part of the State of Tlaxcala, near the border of the State of Puebla (personal communication, Rafael García Gardoqui).

2. This battle lasted 14 or 15 days, according to Fray Francisco de Aguilera, in *Relación breve de la conquista de Nueva España* (México: José Porras e Hija, S.A., 1954), pp. 114-15. Reference to important contemporary Spanish sources, like Aguilera, Elías, Cervantes, Cortés, and others, is necessary for gauging passage of time and other points often not in the *Flowerlike Codes* and other Aztec sources.

635 they destroyed the vassals. So now let us submit to
 648 them; let us befriend them; let us make friends of
 the foe. [For] the common folk suffer."

648 And thereupon the rulers of Tlaxcalla went to
 meet them. They took them food — birds, eggs,
 white tortillas, fresh tortillas.

They said to them: "Ye have labored, O our
 lords."

[These] answered them: "Where is your home?
 Whence come ye?"

They said: "We are people of Tlaxcalla. You
 have tired yourselves. You have come to and reached
 the land [which is] your poor home, Quauhtlax-
 calla."

(But in ancient times it was named Texcalla, and
 the common folk were called Texcallans.)³

njuhtican, ma can tincnjutlcan, motolinja in ma-
 cealli.

Auh njma ie ie vi in qujnamiquiaque in tlaxcal-
 teca tlatoque: qujtiquire in tlaqualli, in totoli,
 in totolsti in jztac tlaxcalli, in chipaoac tlaxcalli:
 qujmjlhuque. Oanqujmjhiviltique itecujoane:

qujnoalnauquiltique. Cana mochan? Campa oan-
 callaque?

Conjtoque. Titlaxcalteca, oanqujmociaviltique, oan-
 maxitico, oclaltech anmaxitico in amochantzinc
 quauhtlaxcalla

(auh in ie vecauh moteneoaia Texcalla, in mace-
 calli mjtoia, texcalteca.)



3. The Spanish text says: "La ciudad & apue de donde desciende, o sea por donde los españoles se llamaron Texcalla."

Tlaxcalla did not exist as a compact urban center before the Conquest except for the four barrios — Quauhtlan, Otzolotepec, Tepicapan, and Tlaxcallan — which made up the Republic of Tlaxcalla (personal communication, Rafael García Giner).

II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 **B**ECAUSE there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.¹

I. ÇIHUATLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38^r of the *Codex*
 114 *Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula*, seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map,
 114 two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably
 128 resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

¹ Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6-7, facing p. 60.

The Tarascan Frontier

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; 635 the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which 114 have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing 128 their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

[103]

MENDOCINO

MILLIONTH MAP

Apancalecā (?), 2

[Missing]

Coyucac, 8

Coyoquilla

Nochcoc, 10

Nuxco

Panotlan, 9

[Missing]

Petlatlan, 6

Petatlán

Xihuacan, 5

[Missing]

Xolochiuhyan, 7

Jolochuca

Yztapan, 3

[Missing]

Çacatulan, 1

[Missing]

Çihuatlan, 9 [sic]

[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Aneuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by 632 Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight impor- 505 tance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities 131 meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the *relación* of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

[97] of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua," the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepéc," and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

- 635 Provincial borders in 1519.—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the

[101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuico, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes."

TRIBUTE

- 651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino*, the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

- [291] 1,616 bundles* of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

- [245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

- [248] 400 bundles of cotton
[134] 800 red seashells, like scallops

* See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 339-362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Cuiclateca," *ibid.*, pp. 297-328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239-254.

** See section on Tepequacuico, below.

* The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

The Tarascan Frontier

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Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.³⁵

2. TEPEQUACUILCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below:

MENDOCINO

Alahuiztlā, 21
Atenanco, 8
Cocolan, 13
Cueçalan, 7
Chilacachapā, 12
Chilapan, 4
Huitzoco, 16
Ohuapā, 6
Oztoma, 19
Teloloapan, 11
Tepequacuilco, 15
Tlachmalacac, 18
Ychcateopī, 20
Yoallan, 17

MILLIONTH MAP

Alahuistān
Atengo del Río
Cocula
Cuetzala
Chilicachapa
Chilapa
Huitzuco
Oapan
[Missing]
[No change]
Tepecoacuilco
Tlaxmalac
Ixcateopan
Iguala

103

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted

³⁵ "Al rey que era de México ... le daban esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacaban y lavaban de los rios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos daban al dicho Montecuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (PNE, 6: 158).

- 635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Odatlan (1),⁷ now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;⁸ Tetela (5),⁹ now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);¹⁰ Totoltepec (10);¹¹ and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.¹²
- [175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- (32) *Atenango* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."¹³ Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación¹⁴ gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,¹⁵ and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapulahuaya,"¹⁶ names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

⁷ "Eran de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan" (PNE, 6: 138).

⁸ PNE, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

⁹ PNE, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

¹⁰ PNE, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan ... para que los gobernasen."

¹¹ PNE, 6: 149: "[En] tiempo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

¹² PNE, 6: 317: "Estavan sujetos a Montecuma."

¹³ PNE, 1: No. 90.

¹⁴ *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

¹⁵ PNE, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."

¹⁶ Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 3: 210. See also Hendrich: "Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 3: 142-147.

[97] Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"¹⁰⁰ and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco, "Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns."

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ..." of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuico were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,¹⁰¹ against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,¹⁰² Ychcateopan,¹⁰³ Oztoma,¹⁰⁴ Totoltetec,¹⁰⁵ and—in earlier times, at least—Cuecapan.¹⁰⁶ Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.¹⁰⁷

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.¹⁰⁸ South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.¹⁰⁹

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.¹¹⁰ Alahuiztlan

¹⁰⁰ PNE, 5: 176.

¹⁰¹ PNE, 6: 315.

¹⁰² Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.

¹⁰³ PNE, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."

¹⁰⁴ PNE, 6: 100.

¹⁰⁵ PNE, 6: 89.

¹⁰⁶ PNE, 6: 106.

¹⁰⁷ PNE, 6: 149.

¹⁰⁸ PNE, 6: 138.

¹⁰⁹ Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.

¹¹⁰ PNE, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Chhuatlán.

¹¹¹ PNE, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Chhuatlán.

¹¹² "Después que fueron suxetos a Motocuma y reyes de Mexico tenían la dicha guerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos reyes de Mexico acodian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetroma tenía en Oztuma" (PNE, 6: 102).

Akwixtlan

The Tarascan Frontier

19635

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans.⁶³² Nevertheless, there is no salt from this province in the tribute list. [317] 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan.⁷¹² The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18') as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "...otra capitania En lo de mechuacan..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlattepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma.⁷¹²

Cuecalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuilatlac of Axochitlan.

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting.⁶⁴⁸ Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan

⁶³² PNE, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in PNE, 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

⁶⁴⁸ A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y azer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xenie en el de guaranyon contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espensable ... era la mas principal fuerza que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (PNE, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigésimooseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557-563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro." *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165-174.

⁷¹² By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142-147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

⁷¹³ "Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenían, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (PNE, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlán" (PNE, 6: 150).

⁷¹⁴ "Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (PNE, 6: 141).

⁷¹⁵ "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (PNE, 6: 134).

⁷¹⁶ "Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacoesteque y Tetela" (PNE, 6: 139).

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the province of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast," among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier."

[712] Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17") accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan," "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291]

402 bundles* of mantles *colchadas***

402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**

400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**

400 bundles of little white mantles**

[714]

1,600 bundles of large mantles**

22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huasteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpat-zactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262]

4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**

[263]

200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

* PNE, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acanalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (PNE, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuxco," hence is the present Tecpan.

** PNE, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ...," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48-53.

* PNE, 5: 249.

ⁿ *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

^m The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

651 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are
632 not specified."

[567] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves." These must
721 have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from
Anetuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the
Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress,
we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to
be sacrificed."

3. TLACHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth
131 page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36^r of the *Codex Mendocino*.
This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip
of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Ma-
trricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino*
identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the
"Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad
de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendo-
cino* and on the modern map are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO

Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6
Chontalcoatlan, 9
Nochtepec, 7
Teotliztacan, 2
Tetenanco (? 5)
Teticpac, 8
Tlachco, 3
Tlamacazapā, 4
Tzicapuçalco, 1

MILLIONTH MAP

Acamixtla
[No change]
Nochtepec
Huiztac
[See Remarks on Towns]
Tetipac
Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapa
Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

"Motēcuma embio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le treb-
tavan" (PNE, 6: 123).

"Estavan sujetos a Montecuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los
[que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est. le llevavan en reconocimiento" (PNE, 6: 317).

"Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in PNE, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los
presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo principal del fuerte grande, y si era
persona principal la que prendian la embiavan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que
alli la sacrificasen."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 191 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlán.¹ This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,² and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlán, and Teticpac,³ as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.
- 101
- 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepaquacuico, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.
- 635

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

- [291] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
 400 bundles of women's clothing**
 [248] 1,206 bundles¹ of little mantles of soft henequen**
 [174] 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huasteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimil*)²

FOOD

- [162] 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
 [263] 200 little jars of honey (quarterly).

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

- [323] 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
 [314] 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
 8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,
- 632

* "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (PNE, 6: 143).

** PNE, 6: 265; GPM, p. 135.

** PNE, 6: 100, 118; GPM, p. 127.

¹ Corrected from 1,200.

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one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands."

4. OCUILAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO

1927 MAP

Coatepec, 3

Coatepec Harinas

Ocuilan, 7

[No change]

Tenantzinco, 6

Tenancingo

Tequaloyan, 5

Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)

Tonatiuhco, 4

Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Cincoczac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cincoczac is cited by Texozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns.

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún tells us that "those who are called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

"PNE, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres brazas de largo y una bera de ancho, de algodón, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas cnaguas... Hacían una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della sacian lo justaban estos gobernadores y la dauan cada año a Montezuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte días."

"Relación de Sultepec": "heran" sujetos a los reyes de México a los quales tributaban." "Relación de Temazcaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad sujetos a un señor de México." PNE, 7: 11 and 20.

"PNE, 7: 101: "por los muchos codornices que ay se nombraron así."

"Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España (1938), III: 128.

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
 [76a] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
 101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,² spoken
 near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited
 today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found
 a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the
 north of modern Hidalgo State.³

- 635 Provincial borders in 1519.—In the final native period the province
 131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered
 on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan
 and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the
 south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco.
 Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans;
 Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan
 frontier.

TRIBUTE

- 651 Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

- [291] 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
 248 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
 400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
 [714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having
 the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huasteca)*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huahtli, and chian*
 263 2,000 vessels of white salt**

- 632 Tribute of the component towns.—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
 651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teonacatl*),
 [291] kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
 276 were asked."⁴ No data are available on the tribute of other component
 212 towns individually.
 137

² Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 397-338.

³ In Tlachinoltepec, *PNE*, 3: 130.

⁴ *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavánle cada vez que se lo pedían dos y tres cargas de mantas de neques, que se haze de un arbol que se llama magueli, y davan ongos con que senbo-

5. TULUCA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33' of the *Codex Mendocino* contain the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zināntecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepēc, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Tootenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Coquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

103

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuíacan. 103

Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master. 175 167

machan y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zumo del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocothili."

"Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcingos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858-1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier ⁶³⁵ against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion ¹³¹ into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca.

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.¹⁰⁰ Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here.

TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

[291]

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border**

400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**

1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles**

[714]

22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huahtli*

[262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. ⁶³²

6. MALINALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, ⁶³⁵ which is copied as folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections ¹¹⁴ are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with

¹⁰⁰ PNF 7: 16.

- 635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
 114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.¹⁰⁰ Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino*:

[103]

MENDOCINO

Malinalco, 1
 Çonpahuac̃, 2

ATLAS

[No change]
 Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.¹⁰¹

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Çonpahuacan is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
 114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 34-6 *Inhabitants and languages*.—Malinalco was a great religious center.
 635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

¹⁰⁰ I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40^r of the *Mendocino*.

¹⁰¹ PNE, 1: No. 346.

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is attributed to the Matlatzincas,¹³⁰ although in 1791 the Matlatzincas language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.¹³¹ The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted¹³² that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca in attacking Quauhnhuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnhuac to the east and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino*, which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen**

[291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*¹³³

[262]

¹³⁰ Cf. Gante, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life*, No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59-63. García Payón's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5-63).

¹³¹ "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenancingo: "Los Indios de toda esta Jurisdicción hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepción de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su gobierno interior, conserban el Ocuilteca, de difícil comprehension para los estraños."

¹³² In the section on Tepequacuilco.

¹³³ To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].¹ Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the *relación* of Tecpatepec (1579),² one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also³—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the *Matricula* and on the copy of that page, folio 32^r of the *Codex Mendoza*, and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

¹ "Memorial de los pueblos sujetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE*, 14: 118.

² *PNE*, 6: 35.

³ E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlahuca, Cepayauhla, and Cuhtepec. *GPM*, pp. 163-164.

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35

the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."⁶³² Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,¹³¹ it is not difficult to place approximately."

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca and Huitziçilapa." Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli*, "sand," and *tlalli*, "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomi⁶³⁵ and Matlatzinca¹⁹⁷ seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old Tepanec territory.¹⁰¹

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are:⁶³⁵

Atlapulco, 11
Capulhuac, 12
Coatepec, 14

Cuauximalpan, 7
Chichicquauhtla, 4
Huizquilocan, 5

Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Toluca.⁶³⁵¹³¹

⁶³² These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.

⁶³⁵ Cf. preceding note.

¹³¹ Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.

¹⁹⁷ *PNE*, 1: No. 361.

¹⁹⁸ *PNE*, 1: No. 782.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos anales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas-Res, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtémotzin ... en 1523* (1943).

²⁰⁰ *PNE*, 1: No. 782.

²⁰¹ Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[241
714]

- 800 bundles of rich mantles**
800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262]

- 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313]

- 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli*, morillos)

8. XOCOTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35' of the *Codex Mendocino*. In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan [128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.²⁰ Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,²¹ which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

²⁰ Xocotitlan and Xiquipilen were conquered at the beginning of Azyacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinc country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

²¹ *PNE*, II: No. 799. These are Atimclonga, Tlatchichilco, Tlasmaculpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan¹⁹⁷ and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí¹⁰—a fact in harmony with Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.¹⁰

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the⁶³⁵ Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west¹³¹ and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen**

[291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)**

[262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of⁶⁵¹ the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single⁶³² town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous.

9. ATOTONILCO DE PEDRAZA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that⁶³⁵ of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side¹¹⁴ of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28^r of the *Mendocino*.²⁰ It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

¹⁹ Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.

²⁰ He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzincas peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 296.

²¹ See n. 111, p. 31.

²² The lost original might be called p. 6B.

- 635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo.
The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present
one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO
Atotonilco, 4
Otlazpā, 1

ORTELIUS, 1579
[No change]
Hatlaspā

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacā, Tehuehuc, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Apaxco is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
[31] Atotonilco, still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.²²

Otlazpā is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28^r of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpā appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.²³

²² *PNE*, 1: No. 1.

²³ The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vs. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-55), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpā, yhua tepexic ce comédero" ("Otlazpā and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpā in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1261) of the *Ramo de Tierras* of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpā and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The *Códice Franciscano*, written in 1570, *Cies* (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe á ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpā."

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The pueblo of Jagüeyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; ⁶³² moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, ¹³¹ Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.⁶³² The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.⁶³²

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear⁶³² that the people of Otlaz-¹⁹⁷ pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua,⁵⁷⁹ whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was ¹⁰¹ accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have ⁶³⁵ not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its ¹³¹ neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypachtla and Quauhtitlán, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlán—all provinces of the Empire.

⁶³² AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martín Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "bago merced a melchior nuñez de vn sitio distancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ha hazia san bernardino suxeto de utlaspa." Folio 11^o calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

⁶³² Nicolás León (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlaustla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of León and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6^o, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagüeyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranches are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [sic] "Otlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1464).

⁶³² According to León, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

- 635 Regional names.—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere."

TRIBUTE

- 651 Tribute of the whole province.—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

- [291]
714 400 bundles of rich mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

- [317] 400 loads of lime**

- 651 Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above."

- 317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tocho-mitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomisl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. QUAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexi-
can history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex*
Mendocino. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the
present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

* Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Imperio de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América*, — 1943: *El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119-121.

** PNE, 1: No. 1 [ca. 1550]: "Ay muchos magüeyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

The Old Tepanec Domain

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloýocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepotxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

41 635
114
[125]

[103]

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.⁶³²

632
131

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacōpan.

Tehuiloýocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."⁶³³

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.⁶³⁴

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca*, in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520-526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated.¹⁹⁷

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the north-east Hueypuchitla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the south-west Quahuacan.⁶³⁵

⁶³² GPM, p. 67: "distant de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."

⁶³³ GPM, p. 363.

⁶³⁴ PNE, 3: 13, nr 1.

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[296]
714]

- 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
- 400 bundles of little white mantles**
- 62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262]

- 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauchtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285]

- 4,000 *petates*
- 4,000 rush seats

II. XILOTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31' of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula*, the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO

- Acaxochida, 7
- Michmaloyan, 5
- Tecoçauhtla, 11
- Tepetitlan, 6
- Tzayanalquilpan, 3
- Xilotepec, 2

MILLIONTH MAP

- [Missing]
- Michimaloyan
- Tecozautila
- Tepetitán
- Soyaniquilpan
- Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked conveniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchia, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them." Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco¹ and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino*, fol. 55¹). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town

¹ "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se adjudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* [1893], II: 198).

² In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de México, Epoca I* (1897), 4: 48-51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vi. 1343, among other places.

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called *Atucpan*.⁶³² Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of ¹³¹ the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec⁶³² is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible.⁶³² It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac,⁶³² two long leagues southeast of Axocopan⁶³² and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.⁶³²

Tetlapanaloan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan⁶³² and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla.⁶³² It must therefore be the Tlapanaloan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.⁶³²

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.⁶³²

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province⁶³⁵ were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitla-⁶³² pilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was pre-¹⁹⁷ dominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.⁶³²

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bor-⁶³⁵ dered by the republic of Meztitlan, with which Atocpan had war.⁶³² To ¹³¹ the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 24 and 33.

⁶³² The relación of this town is given in PNE, 6: 31-34.

⁶³² Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.

⁶³² GPM, p. 188.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 15. See also PNE, 3: 70.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 28.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 15.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 28.

⁶³² PNE, 3: 43.

⁶³² PNE, 6: 27.

⁶³² In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomí y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomí" (PNE, 6: 28). In Toluacachtla, "hablan la lengua otomí ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (PNE, 6: 24).

⁶³² "Relación de Meztitlan."

- 635 *Regional names.*—The cabecera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,^a as did Tequixquiác^b and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.^c

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

- [291] 400 little decorated mantles**
 [714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
 800 white henequen mantles**
 62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

- [262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli).
 [263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

- 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the
 632 tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

- [26] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.^d

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.^e

- [23] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.^f

^a PNE, 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

^b PNE, 3: 51.

^c PNE, 6: 32.

^d PNE, 6: 28: "reconocían a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que soff como anejo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

^e PNE, 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

^f Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. PNE, 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyses, venados, liebres y conejos."

The Old Tepanec Domain

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Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción de Querétaro."⁶³² However, it is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-Hispanic town. The impression given by the relación is that it was founded as a result of the Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querétaro-Tlachco is not the Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of "mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, therefore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth-century relaciones: Atlán (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titmilpa (1),⁶³⁵ and Zimapan (12).⁶³²

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas. ⁶³²

Titmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichimec neighbors.⁶³⁵ These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of ¹⁹⁷₁₀₁ ²¹²

⁶³² In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897-1899), I: 1-48.

⁶³⁵ The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "haya su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuacutla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant josepe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria deculul ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorengo tlachatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titmilpa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain, Ibero-Americana* [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acualtzingo."

⁶³⁵ *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Xilotepec ... en cuyo reconocimiento le daban de la caza que sacaban."

⁶³⁵ "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y así no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886-1892], II: 18).

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403-1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.²⁰ They come from the town of Huechiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely
635 stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecocauhltla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west and north of the province
131 of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.²¹ Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochteca* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,²² but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino*, the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

- [29]
714] 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles²³ of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles²⁴ of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

- [262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

- [231] 1-4 live eagles, "according to what they found"²⁵

²⁰ Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomí," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists*, . . . 1928 (1930), pp. 130-135.

²¹ Cf. n. 35 above.

²² PNE, 6: 201.

²³ Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.

²⁴ Corrected from 400.

²⁵ The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

The Old Tepanec Domain

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Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.⁶⁵¹⁶³²

12. AXOCOPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the *Matricula* which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtlā, since it is preserved for us in this location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27.⁶³⁵ Axocopan Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet [128] "San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

MENDOCINO

Atenco, 5
 Axocopan, 1
 Mizquiahuala, 7
 Tecpatepec, 8
 Temohuayā, 2
 Tetepango, 3
 Tezcatepec, 9
 Tlaahuilpā, 4
 Xochichiua
 Yzmiquilpā, 10

MILLIONTH MAP

[Missing]
 [Missing]
 Mixquiahuala
 [No change]
 [Missing]
 Tetepango
 [Missing]
 Tlahuelilpa
 [Missing]
 Izmiquilpan

[103]

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

⁶⁵¹ "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897-1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de Mexico á los cuales adoraban como á dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada uno ó lo que querían los que lo recogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiaban los cojedores con apotes y otros malos tratamientos."

⁶³² Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6-7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Atenco*, now *Atengo*, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the
 131 *Agricultura y Fomento* map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."¹⁰⁰ The only other *Atengo* in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of *Tepeji del Río*, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from *Axacuba* to *Ajucuba*.¹⁰¹ It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of *Tecpatepec*,¹⁰² two leagues from *Atitlaquia*,¹⁰³ and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the *Secretaría de Agricultura*.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of *Mizquiahuala* on the *Secretaría de Agricultura* map. Though this *Tezcatepec* has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of *Hueypuchitla*), it appears that the homonym was called *Tezcatepec-tonco* in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to *Tlacopan* in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiua is gone, but it once stood one league from *Axacuba*, to which it was subject.¹⁰⁴ The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 635 *Inhabitants and languages*.—The cabecera of *Axocopan* and the following towns were formerly *Tepanec* dominions: *Mizquiahuala*,
 197 *Tecpatepec*, *Tezcatepec*, *Tezontepec*, *Tlaahuilipan*, and *Yzmiquilpan*. Both *Otomí* and *Náhuatl* were spoken in the province, the latter from *Chichimec* times, apparently.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ *GPM*, p. 185.

¹⁰¹ *PNE*, 1: No. 1; *GPM*, p. 188.

¹⁰² *PNE*, 6: 36.

¹⁰³ *PNE*, 6: 305.

¹⁰⁴ *PNE*, 3: 58; 6: 19.

¹⁰⁵ *PNE*, 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by *Chichimec* settlers, see *PNE*, 6: 14 and 24.

The Old Tepanec Domain

47

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metz-titlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces.

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.⁶³⁵ This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses." The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows:

651

CLOTHING

- 800 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
- 800 bundles of little white mantles**
- 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
- 42 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291]
714]

FOOD**

- 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauidi)
- 400 large jars of thick maguery honey

[262
263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below.

651
632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.⁶³²

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "...estaban sujetos al p[uebl]o de

[235]

* Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, 1: No. 347; Tezcattepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcattepec, *PNE*, 6: 33 and 1: No. 546; Tlaahuelilpa, on the other hand, "est[á] ya casi fuera de la comarca que dicen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

** *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

* To the ruler in México, "dauante de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [sic] y varillas untadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de Mexico donde estava y rresidia
 [235] montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de
 tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas
 mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo
 mismo" (RHE, 1: 253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game,
 as well as making a special milpa."

[411/231] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins."

13. HUEYPUCHTLA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino*
 114 appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central
 Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map
 [128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map,
 "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula*, only the
 cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns
 are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO

Acayocā, 7
 Atocpan, 10
 Hueypuchtla, 3
 Tequixquiac, 1
 Tetlapanaloyā, 2
 Tezcatepectonco, 6
 Xicalhuacan (? 4)
 Xomeyocan (? 5)

MILLIONTH MAP

Acayoca
 Actopan
 Hueypoxtla
 [No change]
 Tlapanaloya
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty
 to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtlā (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Atocpan* has become the *Actopan* of today. Although there still exists
 131 another town called *Atocpan* (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

²² PNE, 6: 36: "davan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

²³ PNE, 6: 32: "reconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

- 635 represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole
 114 vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy,
 131 which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, I

Ojitipa de Mirador

- 651 Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to
 judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which
 differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty,
 for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of
 what is now Ciudad Valles,³ it is clear that the reporter had his direc-
 tions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a
 rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of
 the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near
 Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this
 once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa
 de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.⁴

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description
 114 of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochteca*l named Chilton
 gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and
 north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:⁵

- 635 The first town we came unto is called Tancuaylabo, in which there dwell
 105 many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew,
 and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe
 with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with
 them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most
 part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for ex-
 change of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use
 it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips
 and in their gummies.

³ PNE, 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.

⁴ Meade, *La Huasteca: Época Antigua* (1942), p. 293.

⁵ Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

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Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalptaking here is noted by Chilton:

... they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with Tulancingo and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of Xaltocan.*

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING**

- 2,010 bundles* of large mantles, each 2 varas long
- 806 bundles* of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD*

- 400 loads of dried axi

OTHER TRIBUTE*

- 1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

- 9 "suanas"

FOOD

- 30 loads of axi
- 9 jars of honey
- ... maize

* *ENE*, 10: 136.

* Corrected from 3,000.

* Corrected from 800.

177
651

OTHER GOODS

... cotton
60 deerskins^a

15. CTZICOAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling)
114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54^r). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO

Cozcatecutlan, 1
Ctzicoac (?), 5
Molanco, 7
Xocoyocan (?), 6
Ychcatlan, 3

MILLIONTH MAP

Coxcatlan
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Iscatlan

- We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztlán.^b

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancanhuitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along [31] with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztlán, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

^a PNE, 1: No. 424.^b "Relación de ... Mexicas," p. 273, and PNE, 6: 188.

Czicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, ⁶³² is another difficult problem. Meade¹³¹ would locate it in or near the present Chicontepec; Melgarejo¹³¹ presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had ^[648] Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.¹³¹

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant"—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huastec-Náhua word, appears in the conquest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.¹³¹ We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though ^[114] recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica ⁶³⁵ could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco ⁶⁴⁸ and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em- ¹⁹⁷

¹³¹ Op. cit., p. 290.

¹³² *La provincia de Tlaxcala* (1947), pp. 36-42.

¹³³ *PNE*, 6: 189-192.

¹³⁴ Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tlaxcala* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tlaxcala, Tome 1691, p. 263.

¹³⁵ Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897-1899), IV: 273.

635 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huastec. Huastec was
 648 spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in
 197 recent times, at least) in the south." The Huastec people, generally
 105 speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from leg-
 endary sea-borne founders." Sahagún gives voluminous data on the
 Huasteca, of which we quote a part:

... they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and
 others varicolored. . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them
 on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-
 boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of
 the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful
 parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing
 among them. . . ."

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the inde-
 131 pendent principality of Metztlán, with its old Náhuatl speech and
 gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired
 at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chi-
 chimec" frontier.

635 Regional names.—Ctzicoac lay in the Huasteca, a region more
 103 properly known as "Cuextlan." This region is also called "Tona-
 catlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of
 flowers." One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizco-
 huacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).

TRIBUTE

651 Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac
 and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

297 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
 400 bundles of loincloths**

** Jiménez Moreno and Mendizábal, "Distribución prehispánica de las lenguas indi-
 genas de México."

** Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

** *Ibid.*, pp. 131-132. Meade (*La Huasteca: Época Antigua* [1942]) gives the best
 general résumé of the province.

** Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

** *Ibid.*, p. 131.

** Ixtlixochitl, *Óleos Anabris* (1892), II: 196.



16. TUCHPA .

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was
 114 one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.² It is copied
 on folio 52^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa
 [28] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present
 map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical
 Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have
 been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO

Miahuaapā, 4
 Mictlan, 3
 Papantla, 6
 Tuchpa, 2
 Çihuateopa, 5

MILLIONTH MAP

Miahuapam
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [No change]
 Turpan
 [See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Ocelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Mictlan is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to
 [31] Lehmann.³ It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain
 ancient documents.⁴

Ocelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier
 which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II⁵—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious
 conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

² See Introduction, p. 7.

³ Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Selser, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Altertumskunde* (1902-1923), II: 272 and III: 310-449.

⁴ Lehmann, vi, 1348 D₂, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

⁵ RHE, I: 488: "acien estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por montecuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que montecuma nasciese ni credase este rrey no o'estaban estos yndios sujetos al padre de montecuma ni á otros perama y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras — y que despues vinieron donde á muchos años que ya estaban cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á montecuma."

reached to the limits of that of Xonocla in the adjacent province of Tlatlahquitepec.⁶³⁷ [131]

Tenexicpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* — (PNE, I: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuatropa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Otzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province belonged to the Huasteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however, they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.⁶³⁸ As noted above, Papantla was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.⁶³⁵

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province of Otzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlán, and to the south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the northern frontier were the unconquered Huastec peoples.¹³¹

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Otzi-coac" are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.⁶³⁵ 103

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, especially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to the *Matricula*:⁶⁵¹

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles**

400 bundles of red and white mantles**

400 bundles of loincloths**

808 bundles* of large white mantles, 4 brazas long**

[291]

* RHE, I: 487.

** Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payón, *Interpretación — de el Tajín —* (1943).

* Ixtlánciel, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.

** Corrected from 800.

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Tribute of the component towns.—Papanala paid a tribute of man-⁶⁵¹
des, little peppers, maize, and chili.⁶³²

17. ATLÁN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53⁶³⁵ of the *Codex* ●
Mendocino, appears a province of two towns, the second such province¹¹⁴
which we have encountered." In the former codex, one place glyph is
identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino*
they are identified as "Atlán" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlán
appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secre-
taría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very nu-
merous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one
document which gives Atlán one hundred and fifty tributaries and
"Çapotitlan" ten only." Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of
Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called
"Valpopocatlan."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlán and Teçapotitlan were apparently⁶³⁵
the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are¹³¹
treated in the same way as are Xocochocho, at the southern extremity
of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the
glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula*
accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of
"tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it.
Atlán and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each
had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this
manner each had two.

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlán,
when he refers to "... otra capitania ... a la rraya de panuco, Entre
tucapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria
[Nautla], ques En la costa del norte ..."

⁶³⁵ RHE, 1: 488: "tributante mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."

¹¹⁴ Cf. Malinalco, above.

⁶³² PNE, 3: 97.

⁶³¹ PNE, 8: 166.

¹³¹ *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), I: 302. See fuller
quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 118.

- 635 Atlán was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
 131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlán to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING**

- [297] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
 800 bundles of loincloths
 404 bundles^a of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS*

- [248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
 114 as folio 50^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO

Acazacatlá, 7
 Tlapacoyan, 4
 Xilotochitlan, 6
 Xochiquauhuitlan, 5

1908 MAP

Zacatlan
 [No change]
 Eloxochitlan
 Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan. To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Acazacatlá* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
 131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

* Corrected from 400.

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Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century *relación*.⁶³²
151

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlahquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepēc was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla,"⁶³³ finally became *Xochicuatla*.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauchinanco and Xicotepēc were important towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepēc there exists a curious *huchuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest.⁶³⁵ Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan."⁶³⁷ The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhuatl influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlahquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.⁶³⁸

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone called Totonacapan.⁶³⁹

⁶³² RHE, 1: 481: "venian — gobernador antiguamente pacato por monteçuma."

⁶³³ ENE, 9: 199.

⁶³⁴ Christensen, "El Tepemastli de Xicotepēc," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179-180.

⁶³⁵ RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yncinados á solo comer y dormir con de alguna tonacaque difirent de la mexicana."

⁶³⁶ See the process of the conquest of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205-215.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
 714] 800 bundles of large white mantles**
 2 warriors' costumes*

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in
 632 identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts."

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles."

19. ATOTONILCO EL GRANDE

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8
 114 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30' of the *Codex Mendocino*. There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30' may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino*, as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [28] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO

Acaxochitla, 3
 Atotonilco, 1
 Hueyapan, 5
 Quachquecaloyā, 2
 Tulancingo, 4
 Çtzihuinquiloca

MILLIONTH MAP

Acaxochitlán
 Atotonilco el Grande
 [No change]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 Tulancingo
 [See Remarks on Towns]

* RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á moctezuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."

** RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributauan á moctezuma mantas de algodón."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco" ⁶³² and seventeen leagues from México." As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears ¹³¹ eight leagues from Hueyacocotla." It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century."

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- ⁶³⁵ uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- ⁷⁵ ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco." These ruins have only recently been surveyed." Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque," and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huasteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande ⁶³⁵ lay between two *tierras de guerra*. To the north was Metztitlan, and ¹³¹ probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtlá.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- ⁶⁵¹ nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich mantles**

1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen**

4 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291
714]

* FNE, 3: 91.

** FNE, 1: No. 133.

GPM, p. 250.

FNE, 1: No. 21.

RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihiuquiluca (sic) y tetlyrtaca y el pueblo de tepapulco está cinco leguas camino llano."

Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.

By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.

Ixtlixochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632

651

Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six *hanegas* of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items."

20. ACOLHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21' and 22' of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula*, which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino*, which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO

Acolhuacā, 23
Aztaquemeca
Cempoalan, 5
Ecatepec, 15
Epacoyucā, 2
Huicilan, 9
Matixco, 14
Tescalco, 11
Temazcalapā, 10
Tepechpa, 16

1937 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Zempoala
[No change]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztilac
Maquixco
[See Remarks on Towns]
Temaxcalapan
Tepexpan

* PNE, 1: No. 21: "Y da diez ochocientas hanegas de mais cada año y sembraran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y diez y siete e cinco aguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta días."

- 632 Tezontepec was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.¹⁰ There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.¹¹

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 648 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.¹²

- 197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.¹³ The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

- 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueyphutla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

¹⁰ RHE, 1: 152.

¹¹ PNE, 3: 44, n. 6: 309.

¹² Cf. n. 82 below.

¹³ The "Relación de Epacoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablaban lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyxtaca observes: "la lengua es otomíe advenedizos de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de texcoco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE is a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco¹ names nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."² (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.³

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. CHALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41^o of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century *relación*, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO

Chalco, 1
Quauhnumulco, 2
Tepoztlan, 3

1927 MAP
Tlalmanalco
Cuajomulco
Tepoztlan

[103]

¹ Lehmann, *vs.* 1343.

² Ixtlilxochitl, *Obra histórica* (1893), II: 196.

³ Quoted in *n.* 96 below.

- 635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Chalco itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a preliminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula*. There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Citlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.¹

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuxtlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.²

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
147 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

¹ *Anales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

³ Durán, *Historia de los indios de Nueva España* (1867-1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacíficamente: tomó por cabecera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quaxucipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martín ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

The Old Acolhua Domain: The Southwest

75

frontier. To the south was Huastec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, 635
and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the 651
richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles**

2 warriors' costumes with shields*

[291]

714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize

2 wooden bins of beans

2 wooden bins of chian

2 wooden bins of huauhtli

[262]

22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by 635
Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed 114
to Cuernavaca.¹ This province now forms the western half of the
State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero.
There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the
Mendocino on folio 23', with the tribute lists running over onto folio
23'. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare
slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map
of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de 128
Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the follow-
ing towns have been located:

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlypac, 4	Acatipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalcingo, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huicilapā, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucā, and Yzte-
pec.

¹ Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40)
speaks of the "pueblo que se dice Coadlabaca [1] e comunmente corrompemos agora
aquel bocable y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

- 635 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute
103 to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula*, were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltlenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Atlpoyecan is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,⁹ to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

- [712] Quauhnahuac. That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.¹⁰ After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.¹¹

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name
197 Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other food-stuffs."¹²
- 181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

⁹ *Códices indígenas* (1933), Códices 12 and 13.

¹⁰ "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, así de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

¹¹ "[El] Señor de Mexico les embio a mandar que pues estaban en fortaleza que desde allí nos diesen guerra e que les embio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

¹² *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.¹⁸¹ Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.^[632]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuico, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north.

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province⁶³⁵ and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.⁶³⁵

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region:⁶⁵¹

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles**

800 bundles of little white mantles**

1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"***

400 bundles of loincloths**

400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**

8 warriors' costumes with shields**

¹⁸¹ Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ..."

¹⁸² Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867-1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluicas [sic] ... los quales como allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por principal asiento y cabeza de su provincia, á Cuauhnahuac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

¹⁸³ Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

¹⁸⁴ Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

¹⁸⁵ Among these was the "Huastec" (Coextecat) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Marricula* it is clearly marked "ceteapantli cuextecatli toztl," "one yellow Huastec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatli Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902-1923], II: 603-610).

651

[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauidli*

[323]

289]

OTHER GOODS

2,000 pottery bowls**

8,000 reams of native paper**

651

632

Tribute of the component towns.—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta días" as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)

2 jars of honey

6 women's skirts

6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."

23. HUAXTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on
114 the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24^r and 25^r of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and
[128] the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present place names are compared below:

103

MENDOCINO

Ahuchucpan

Amilcingo, 19

Anenecuilco, 16

Atlautla, 5

Ayonochapil, 24

Coacalco, 4

Huaxtepec, 7

1910 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]

Amilcingo

[No change]

Atlautla

Axochiapan

Oscalco

Oaxtepec

* PNL, 1: No. 163.

- 632 *Tetela* [del Volcán] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (q.v.).

Tepostlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see *Ahuehuepan*, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form."

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 101 *Inhabitants and languages*.—The northern quarter of this province
197 of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan," and Yacapichtla." It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac."

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers," and so were the Tlalhuica."

- 635 *Provincial borders in 1519*.—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow
131 province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

" RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapitzla se llama así porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los señores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las narices y que eso quería decir y como agora está la lengua corrua se dice y le llaman ayacapitzla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

" Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867-1880), I: 10.

" RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimilco."

" See pp. 76-77.

" RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Xuchimilco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos vocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

" See pp. 76-77.

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain.⁶³⁵ There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,¹³¹ while memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.¹³¹

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.¹³¹ South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.¹³¹

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the *Mendocino* we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of loincloths**
- 400 bundles of women's clothing**
- 1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
- 8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
- 46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)*

FOOD*

- 4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhdi)

OTHER GOODS**

- 2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors
- 8,000 reams of native paper

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and prisoners alone being mentioned.

* PNE, 6: 286.

* Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexotzingo, Taxcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (PNE, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202-1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

* "Estan las dichas tres cabezas asentadas en tierra llana, cercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Provincia Quahutengo, y dixose así porque los mas de sus sujetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (PNE, 6: 10).

* RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblos de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dixer: llamarse así porque es tierra llana y mas caliente queta la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamente no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlalalaque y que los demas heran estancias y así agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
 632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above."

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners."

24. TLALCOÇAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs
 114 and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in
 which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province
 of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex*
Mendocino as the top section of folio 40'. The province lay in central-
 eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have
 [28] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American
 Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and
 present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO

Ahuacincinco, 4

Mitzinco, 3

Tlalcoçauhtitlá, 2

Tolimani, 1

MILLIONTH MAP

Ahuacuotzingo

Mitalcingo

Tlalcozotitlán

Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuz-
 titlá, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Quauhtecomaccinco, according to one lone reference, was four leagues
 131 from Olinalá."

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla,
 from which it lay eight leagues distant."

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal
 camino de sierras" and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an
 estancia of Tenango."

"El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian
 en las guerras" (PNE, 6: 8).

"The "Relación de Yecapichtla," later stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque moten-
 cuma los quiso señorear no pudo vencerlos y así estuvieron ... de por sí y sobre sí,"
 admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a moten-
 cuma."

"PNE, 5: 210.

"GPM, p. 112.

"PNE, 5: 250.

"GPM, p. 104.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez¹⁰¹ Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of¹⁵⁸ languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.²

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the prov-⁶³⁵ ince of Tepequacuico; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north¹⁵¹ Quauhnhuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

- 400 bundles of large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

- 100 pots of bee honey**

OTHER GOODS

- 20 dishes of *tecoçahuil*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se en-^[323] bixavan"

* *Ixtlilxochitl, Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlalcoçauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huittahcuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis batanes de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tocomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilo quahuile." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 232): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauil, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponastles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho como instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

** *Tenconmex (Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huasteca "betas amarillo que llaman Tecuexalín y teconahuil con que untan y tñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y pies."

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhuatl word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from *Coccus* insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico.

- 651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

(323)	16 pieces of colored lacquer
(313)	268 fine <i>picaras</i> and <i>tecomates</i>
(314)	20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
	20 loads of copal ²

25. QUIAUHTEOPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section
114 extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhiteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40³, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhiteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

105

MENDOCINO

Olinalan, 1
Qualac, 2
Quiauhiteopan (? 3)

MILLIONTH MAP

Olinalá
Cualac
[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhitecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Quauhitecomatla may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.⁴ This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.⁵

- 731 Quiauhiteopan was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.⁶ It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhiteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlacoauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

² The list is quoted in n. 36 above.

³ *PNE*, 3: 351.

⁴ *AGN*, Padrones, 16: 108⁷. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.

⁵ *PNE*, 3: 316.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizábal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: 101
Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapanec, and Matlame. 177

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that 151
activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province 635
cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north 121
of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huastec
Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on
the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them
fellow tributaries.

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the
region known as Totollan."

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhateopan was a rich mining 681
region; as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands:

CLOTHING
400 large mantles**
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD
100 jars of bee honey*

OTHER GOODS
40 large copper bells**
80 copper axeheads**
1 dish of little turquoises*

296
714

1262

1326
317

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth 632
century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money 65
resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over

* See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

** FNE, 5: 57: "Piaztla ... está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Mixteca sujetos a la doctrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrueta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlahquitepec and Quauh-tochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlahquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, extending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.¹ This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51.² Of the eleven principal towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow:

MENDOCINO

Atenco, 8
Ayutuchco, 5
Teotlalpan, 1
Teciutlan, 9
Tlatlahquitepec, 7
Xonocla, 3
Yanahuac, 6
Yayauquitalpa, 4
Yztepec, 2

MILLIONTH MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayotoxco
Hueytlalpan
Teziutlán
[No change]
Jonoda
[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitalpan
[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yzcoyamec.

¹ See Introduction, p. 7.

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Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North of it was Tuchia; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco. 635
31

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlahuquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING [291
714]

- 1,608 bundles^m of black-and-white striped mantles^m
2 warriors' costumes and shields^m

OTHER GOODS [314]

800 cakes of liquidambar^m

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens, and liquidambar. 632
651

Teotlalpan (Hueytalpan) gave cotton mantles.^m

Xoxopancho and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a monte-cuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the *Matricula* and on folio 48^r of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 map of Veracruz, in the center of which area this province lay, five of these towns may be identified, as follows: 635
114
[128]
103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchconco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhterelco and Teuhcoltzapotli.

^m Corrected from 1,600.

ⁿ Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonecas* (1933), pp. 111-112, for an examination of tribute from this province.

^o Cf. B. 6 above.

^p RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallas de monte-cuma tributabanle mantas de algodón."

^q Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

^r [chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the Mex. work. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Quauhtochco figures among the garrison towns on folio 17^r of the
 [712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchconco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town,
 [175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City."

Tehuoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator."

Ytzeyocan, like *Tuchconco*, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on." It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas."

Ytzeyocan figures on folio 17^r of the *Mendocino*, among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire." After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest." Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlahquitepec and Cuertaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles**

* E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170^r, speaks of "tucongo, sujeto al [pueblo] de san ju^a cuescomatepec de la jurisdiccion de gustusa." Dominguez (*Cuescomatepec de Bravo*: I [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

** He first wrote "yolan" and then rubbed it out.

* AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ysicyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305^r, "ysicyuca."

* Dominguez, *Cuescomatepec de Bravo*: I (1943), pp. 17 and 36.

* Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

* Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 266-267.

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91

20 loads of cacao*

FOOD

651
[262]

1,600 bales of cotton*

OTHER GOODS

[248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632 fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651 what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.*

28. CUETLAXTLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49' of the 635 *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114 kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128] sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO

MILLIONTH MAP

Cuetlaxtlan, 2
Mictlanquauhltla, 3
Teoçiocan (?), 1

Cotaxtla
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpā, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlā.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.* 632

Mictlanquauhltla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.* [131]

* According to a document published by Domínguez, *Concomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

* RHE, 1:158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quemud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios é fortalezas con guarnición é gente de guerra que heran cotaxtla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad é la banda de noroeste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

* Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10:61: "don myn enriquez ac por la presente en nombre de su mag^a hago m^a a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del p^o de mictlanquauhltla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellia dentro de los medianos vn cerro."

- 652 Teociocan is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.² It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.³

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 175 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan
197 chronicler, was conquered by that power,⁴ a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla." The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.
● 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco
131 and Tchtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

- 714
37
237
301
[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*
1 string of chalchihuites*
400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

- [262] 300 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.⁵

² Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1538), IV: 134.

³ PNE, 5: 230.

⁴ Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 330 and II: 196.

⁵ RHE, 1: 131.

⁶ PNE, 5: 9: "tributo por las cosas de cacao y mantas de algodón blanco e pintadas."

29. TOCHTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north-eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matricula*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46'. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below:

MENDOCINO
Coşamaloapā, 12
Chinantlan, 10
Mixtlan, 13
Otlatlān, 4
Oxitlan, 2
Puctlan (? 5)
Teotlilan, 1
Tlacotalpā, 6
Tochtepec, 3
Tototepec, 9
Toztlan, 7
Yxmatatlan, 11

MILLIONTH MAP
Cosamaloapan
[See Remarks on Towns]
Otlatlān
Ojitlān
[See Remarks on Towns]
Teutila
Tlacotalpan
Tuxtepec
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochochocho:

Ayotzintepc
Ayoçintepc
Cuezcomatitla
Michapan, 14 (?)
Michtlan

Teteutlan
Tzinacanoztoc
Xayaco
Xicaltepec
Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucula (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

94 *Extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica*It appears in *De Mo-*

- 632 *trícula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconocía a
648
[175] Motēcuma," but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Toch-tepec garrison." A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec." Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

- 632 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province.
131 One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan," three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan."

- 632 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés
712 show." The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there."

- 632 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.

- 131 *Yxmatlatlan* appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (q.v.).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 635 *Inhabitants and languages*.—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of
197 Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast." The chief language of the

PNE, 4: 60.

"Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: "... a la primera vez que ... vine, proveí, como en la otra relación hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hicieron para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerías ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinantla, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada día tenemos ... guerra."

"In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858-1866), II: 592: "Chinantla es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecía á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

"See Yxmatlatlan, below.

"PNE, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dice Puctla questa muytada en las lagunas del río de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in ENE, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

"Op. cit., p. 204.

"E las cosas supremas, como hazer justicia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rremanan en el pueblo de Tuxtepeque, donde Motēcuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (PNE, 4: 62).

"Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197-198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Texcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército comenando

1/2 *Eny Chinantlan - Analysis*

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95 135

province was Nahuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken. 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuertlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xococoncho.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items: 651

CLOTHING

- 1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore**
- 800 red-and-white striped mantles**
- 400 women's blouses and skirts**
- 1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard*
- 1 gold shield**
- 1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers*
- 1 gold diadem*
- 1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
- 2 strings of gold beads**
- 3 large chalchiuites*
- 4 strings of chalchiuites*
- 20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
- 20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

[291]

[714]

[301]

FOOD

- 20 loads of cacao

[262]

la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Tochtepec [sic] que asimismo la ganó y sejugó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y veinte de unas camisetitas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y veinte piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodajas, penachos y otras divinas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

* Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

** Also from Ucila.

the sun and the moon); cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchihuites." 632
651
[231]

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified."

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique."

30. XOCONOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635
114
[128]
103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayodan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huchuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huixtlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacán.

"Moctezuma lo señoreava: tributavane ropa de algodón con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivitis' " (PNE, 5: 2).

"PNE, 5: 5: "se dieron a Moctezuma por amistad ... tributavane vnas mantas de quatro piestras y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un cerco grande y en medio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

"PNE, 4: 47-48: "obedesçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vná rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... y que demas desdo daban otro tributo a vn Governador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodón, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de frutos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un cacique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito. It appears as one
 712 of the garrison towns (*Mendocino*, fol. 18") with two governors,
 named "2. Quauhtli Tezacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," ac-
 cording to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 197 *Inhabitants and languages*.—The Mayence language Mame and Ná-
 huatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.
 635 *Provincial borders in 1519*.—The province of Xoconochco was one
 131 of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on
 the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the
 Empire and to remote Tachtepec are not clearly known, but it seems
 likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province*.—The tribute of Xoconochco Province
 comprised the following:

CLOTHING**

- [301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
 2 long strings of chalcibites

FOOD**

- [262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS**

- [237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
 160 whole skins of birds*
 800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
 800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
 40 ocelot skins
 800 rich tecuētlates for drinking cacao
 [415] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber
 [317]

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns*.—Xoconochco gave, in the early
 651 colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being
 comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece."

* Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

* Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendoza* (1938), 1: 81. Identifies it as *Coringa amabilis* Gould.

* *PNE*, 1: No. 301: "Don tres tributos cada año y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e cinco pesos cada vno, de nuevet quilates: pagando en totosmes al Respeto."

VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 IN EACH of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider,
 147 the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;¹ in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. TEPEACAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of
 114 the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This *cabecera*, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 42^r of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the
 [128] 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

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MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzincó, 15	[No change]
Coatzincó, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlá, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcā, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlá, 2	

¹ E.g., east to Cozamalapaon and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 5, N° 3 (1942), pp. 124-125.

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MENDOCINO

Teopantlan, 3
Tepeacac, 14
Tepemazalco, 18
Tepexic, 11
Tetenanco, 16
Ytzucan, 6

1908 MAP

[No change]
Tepeaca

Tepexi

Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacá, Chiltecpintlá, Oztotlapechco, and Ycchochianco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,⁶ and Quauhtinchan.⁷ Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.⁸

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlaxcala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire provinces of Huáxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,⁹ hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the *relaciones* of the 1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,¹⁰

⁶ PNE, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta ciudad y pueblos de su provincia hablan la lengua mexicana... excepto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua toteca llamada popolucan excepto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; así mismo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

⁷ See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

⁸ *Ibid.*, vii, 322-324.

⁹ PNE, 5: 60, 79.

¹⁰ PNE, 1: No. 248.

- 635 Teonochtitlan, Teopantlan, and Ytzucan. Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlanpan as being situated near the Marquesado.²²

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

- 562 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)²³

OTHER GOODS

- 317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 skins
8,000 loads of *acayotl* "performes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*²⁴

- 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of
651 cane.²⁵

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.²⁶

- [701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.²⁷

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.²⁸

²² More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

²³ *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

²⁴ *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

²⁵ Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533-534: "los pueblos de Coatla[1]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

²⁶ Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

²⁷ *PNE*, 5: 82-83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su infidelidad fueron vasallos de Motecucuma y sus pasados, y que le servian y tributaban rrodelas de canas maçicas que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

²⁸ *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecucuma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le servian con rrodelas de cana maçica, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

²⁹ *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecucuma y sus pasados," making war against the "provincia de Coixco y captiuvuan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecucuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

³⁰ *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su infidelidad eran de Motecucuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçicas grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçica para pelear, y algodón: algodón siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo referido lleuauan a Mexico."

32. YOALTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 186³⁵ of the *Matricula*, and the lower third of folio 40¹¹⁴ of the *Codex Mendoza*. In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápan
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

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One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.¹³¹ It has been placed in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,¹³² which were within Tepeacas Province, as we see in the *Matricula*. In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.¹³³

¹³¹ PNE, 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de México."

¹³² PNE, 5: 60.

¹³³ PNE, 1: No. 6.

- 635 Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the
 131 Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepēc of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauh-teopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

- 651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291
714]

- 400 large mantles**
 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263]

- 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316
533]

- 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger**
 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)**

632
651

- Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.

[712]

- Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.*

* Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1: 75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks ... measured about three inches in diameter."

** The *Mendocino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

* As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.s.*, *PNE*, 3: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... daus ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and "... enbiauan de quando en quando va presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

** *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147-148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarnición apercebida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

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651
263
705
237

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, arrows, and food.⁶⁵¹

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.²⁶³

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchihuites.⁷⁰⁵

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."²³⁷

33. TLAPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39^o). In the *Matricula* only "Tlahupā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁵ FNE, 3: 78: Piaztla was "... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebaban cada año cantidad de sal y cera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodela y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de leños [sic] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

⁶³⁶ RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyian con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á monteçuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

⁶³⁷ FNE, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su xenilidad suxenos a Monteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento; estas cosas iban a rescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Monteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Tentla" (or Teutla).

⁶³⁸ RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 132: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma al qual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

101 panec; a good part of the Yopec remained independent of the Mexicans
 197 until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yopec seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,² but certain customs of the Yopec are identical with those of the Apache.³

212 The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.⁴ Though the codices are still un-
 305 exploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican⁵ calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that
 776 the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yopec. His temple,
 346 which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

635 Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the
 131 province of Tlalcohuatlitan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan
 712 Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Tototepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yopec roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

651 Tribute of the whole province.—Ortega's startling discovery of the
 212 balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"⁶ and its identification by Toscano

² On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45-72, and Schulze Jena, *Indians III* (1938).

³ The only Yopec ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60-61).

⁴ See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azotú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127-136.

⁵ That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

⁶ Published by Selser, *Bulletin 38*, Bureau of American Ethnology.

- 651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
 632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.¹¹
 [316] Tototepēc, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50
 [263] measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
 [446] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpix-
 quec.¹²

34. TLACHQUIAUACO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

- 635 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three
 114 principal towns, according to folio 45^o of the *Mendocino Codex*, the
 folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which
 followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manu-
 script. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
 [28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have
 been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American
 Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":
 [103]

MENDOCINO

Achiotlan, 4
 Tlachquiauco, 3

MILLIONTH MAP

S. Miguel Achiutla
 Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

- 632 Mixtepec was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter
 still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.¹³

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests
 jointly with Xepatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec):

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corrup-
 tion, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etila and Macuilxochic in one
 source.¹⁴

¹¹ PNE, 1: No. 723: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y cinco xarros y tres cargas de cera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

¹² PNE, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias cinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y cinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de servicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

¹³ PNE, 4: 142: "el capique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mixtepec reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

¹⁴ ENE, 16: 68.

1 [i.e. A civil factionary in whose care the public stores
 were entrusted - Analyst]

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"⁷³ though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.⁷⁴

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec.

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province comes from the *Codex Mendocino*:

CLOTHING

400 large mantles**

1 warrior's costume and shield*

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust

5 sacks of cochineal

400 bunches of quetzal feathers

35. COAYXTLAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 43⁷⁵ of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven principal towns,⁷⁶ all of which have been found. They lay in northern Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacā," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

⁷³ PNE, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Montecuma que era el Señor de México."

⁷⁴ Anderson and Barlow, "The Nahuatl Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414-415.

⁷⁵ Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152-153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastaca."

635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
 114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are
 preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
 112 chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical
 Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former
 and modern names are given below:

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MENDOCINO

Coaxomulco, 11
 Coayxtlahuacā, 6
 Cuicatlan, 7
 Mictlan, 18
 Nochiztlan, 15
 Tamaçolan, 19
 Tamaçulapā, 4
 Tepuzcululā, 13
 Texopan, 5
 Xaltepec, 17
 Yancuitlan, 14
 Çoçolan, 16

MILLIONTH MAP

Cuasimulco
 Coixtlahuaca
 Cuicatlan
 Mitdatongo
 Nochixtlan
 Tamazola
 Tamazulapam
 Teposcolula
 Tejúpam
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from
 other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12
 Chila, 2
 Ixtilan, 3

Malinaltepec, 10
 Papalotitpac, 8
 Petaltzinco, 1

Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.⁷⁸ It may
 be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agri-
 cultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall
 of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The
 Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.⁷⁹

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

⁷⁸ PNE, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconocian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llaman 'calpisques' ... hacian recoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouincia de Cuestlaus a, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

⁷⁹ PNE, 4: 165, for example, speak of "Cuestlaueca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papalotitpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152-153).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- [17] *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlalauca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloca in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).
- [10] In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated
- [175] Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.
- [17] Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of
- [805] this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,² and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."
- [635] *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states³ to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

- [65] *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

- [291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated**
 400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white**
 400 bundles of black-and-white mantles**
 400 bundles of loincloths**
 [174] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts**
 2 warriors' costumes together with shields*

* *Códice de Yanhuilán.*

** Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

632 Petaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed
651 through the town."

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers."

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal."

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital."

36. COYOLAPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The
114 principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44'. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which
[128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

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MENDOCINO

Camotlan, 3
Coyolapan, 21
Etlan, 9
Guaxacac, 19
Macuilxochic, 22
Oetlan, 29
Quauxilotitlan, 10
Teticpac, 26
Tlalcuechahuayā, 24

MILLIONTH MAP

Camotlán
Cuilapam
Etla
Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilzóchitl
Ocotlán
[See Remarks on Towns]
Tetipac (San Sebastian)
[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

"PNE, 6: 70: "... era sujeto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exerxitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

"PNE, 4: 95: "... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

"PNE, 4: 55: "... estaban subgetos a su rrey Motecuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Motecuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

"Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de zuzula."

The Mixtec-Zapotec Zone

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NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the ¹⁹⁷ predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.¹²⁰ If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etna, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).¹²¹

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, ¹⁷⁴ especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.¹²²

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one ⁶³⁵ of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- ¹³¹ friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, ⁷¹² however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid ⁶⁵¹ the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles
800 bundles of large mantles

[291]

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian)

[262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's
forefinger
20 bags of cochineal

[316
257]

¹²⁰ Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

¹²¹ García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

¹²² In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixtecas y zapotecas* (1939).

175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and
 712 Ytzeyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs,
 preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our
 information about the garrison towns ends.¹

175 Tributary towns in the *Citlaltepec* zone.—Eleven other town glyphs
 632 which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Ma-*
 651 *trícula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17^r, ranging down the edge
 of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit
 neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We
 shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are
 treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their
 tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located;
 and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen
 [28] on the 1:100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricul-
 tura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO

Acalhuacan
 Acolnahuac
 Coatitlan
 Chalco Atenco, 6
 Puputlan, 4
 Tzonpanco, 1
 Xaltocan, 3
 Yztacalco, 5
 Citlaltepec, 1

1937 MAP

[See Remarks on Towns]
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 [No change]
 Chalco
 Popotlan
 Zumpango
 [See Remarks on Towns]
 Iztacalco
 Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Hui-
 xachtitlan.

- 635 Tlatelolco.—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly
 shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

¹ Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xocochochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Tezapotitlan: "... parece ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarni-
 ciones, y capitánias de gente de guerra, En todas las provincias, que siempre estavan
 junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guati-
 mala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guazaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan,
 y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan (? Tuchiya), y vn pueblo que le pusimos por
 nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ...". He substitutes Coatzaqualco
 (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and
 Coçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in Guerrero—as well as the towns for which no
 governors are mentioned, Poctepoc, Ytzeyocan, and Quauhtochco.

The Heart of the Empire

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but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively⁶³⁵ separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19^r constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.⁶³⁶

A glance at the map will explain why the Citaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator⁶³⁷ of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the⁶³² subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,⁶³⁸ and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.⁶³⁹

Coatlauhuacan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli*, between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

⁶³⁵ Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204-207.

⁶³⁶ "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), 1: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

⁶³⁷ Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 352-353.

- 632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuh-tepec (Cerro del Chiquiuhuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas atlas*.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

- 197 *Inhabitants and languages*.—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,* whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.
- 635 *Provincial borders in 1519*.—This northern lake region faced the
- 131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

- 651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlattepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.*

* Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

* Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208-213.

The Heart of the Empire

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CLOTHING

- 80 Huastec warriors' costumes, together with shields*
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly)

651

[291]
714

FOOD (quarterly)

- 40 baskets of cacao ground with maize
40 baskets of chian pinolli

[262]

OTHER TRIBUTE

- Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac*

[358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of the *Matricula* and on folio 20^r and 20^v of the *Codex Mendocino* the tributary province of Petlalcalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO

- Auchpanco
Cocotlan, 15
Colhuacacincó
Cuitlahuac, 11
Huiçilopochco, 9
Mizquic, 14
Olac, 12
Petlalcalatl, 8
Tecalco
Tecoaloapan, 7
Tepopulan, 16
Tezcacoac
Tzapotitlan, 10
Xico, 13

1937 MAP

- Ayapango
[No change]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlahuac
Churubusco
[No change]
[See Remarks on Towns]
[See Remarks on Towns]
[No change]
[No change]
[See Remarks on Towns]
Zapotitlan
[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

- | | |
|------------|-------------|
| Acapan | Tlaçoxiuhco |
| Nextitlan | Toyac |
| Tepechpan | Xaxalpan |
| Tequemecan | Yopico |

* San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?)

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlascalco lay the sterile lava flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlalmanalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlascalco itself belonged to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were collected by the tribute gatherers to Petlascalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

[291
714]

FOOD*

1 bin of beans
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauidi

[262]

[p. 134 is blank]